

PEACE NEWS

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WORLD TYRANNY DANGER IN ROBOT WEAPONS

THE pilotless plane now being used against us by the Germans brings mankind a perceptible stage nearer to the day when the mutual annihilation of nations will be effected from a distance without the hitherto necessary interposition of fighting men; when a few men in offices, with the controls in their hands, "in spectacles and carpet

slippers" as George Bernanos suggested, will be able to devastate the crowded centres of population and communication. That would be the final reduction of warfare to absurdity.

C.O.T.

The consequences of such an achievement are harder to foretell. Perhaps, a world-empire controlled by a Central Office of Telectony (C.O.T.). (I launch a well-begotten word, meaning killing from afar, before a hybrid gets into circulation).

The Central Office would have many Branch Offices. Its situation would, of course, be somewhat precarious. The engineers might refuse to make the apparatus. But, again, they might not; and, judging by experience, a few weeks' propaganda from the same Central Office, with a little telectony, might work wonders in opening their eyes to the beauty of the system. And the idealists would surely be there to tell them that this was the most up-to-date and economical form of the International Police Force.

Moral law or tyranny

Am I being serious? To tell the truth, I don't really know. What I do know is that unless mankind comes quickly to acknowledge and to obey a system of universal moral law,

Observer's Commentary

there is no alternative to world-tyranny in order to create the order that must be. The appropriate instruments of centralized world-tyranny will soon be in mass-production. Whether world-tyranny might prove to be a step in the direction of a new universal moral order, not the wisest historian could pronounce. But he might remind me that it was the "peace" of the Roman world-tyranny that gave Christianity its chance to become a world-religion.

Anyhow, before world-tyranny could be achieved, there would need to be a long interregnum of progressive anarchy. Possibly, in such an interregnum, moral order might begin to make its own appeal: as once, in the post-Imperial anarchy of Italy, men turned to the purely spiritual authority of a Leo and a Gregory.

Rude awakening in France

"ANY order is better than none." The truth of that maxim is demonstrated by the unpalatable evidence that in Normandy the French population seems to have become friendly enough to the Ger-

man invader. "A good deal of bewilderment and indignation has been aroused among Allied soldiers who had been led to believe that the whole French population was anxiously awaiting liberation," says Reuters Correspondent with the American advanced forces.

This is difficult to get round. There are several methods. "Normandy," we are told, "is not France" (Observer, Jun. 18). In another column the same paper says: "French peasant reaction is mixed. Probably, the Germans left mostly sympathizers." But this is directly contradicted by Richard Dimbleby's broadcast (Jun. 6): "Let it be noted that, unless they departed long ago, the majority of our friends in France are obeying the order to stand fast." The plain fact is that the reality simply does not correspond with the propaganda picture.

Playing politics

That brings us to de Gaulle again. The hesitation over his recognition has taken a new turn. Mr. Churchill hinted plainly enough that if he were pressed he could and would a tale unfold. Something of it is being unfolded unofficially. De Gaulle (says the Economist, Jun. 17) by his "unpleasant readiness to make political capital out of a military situation which might well prove more risky and uncertain than it actually was... has earned the stern hostility of many of the Allied military leaders." The Observer (Jun. 18) endorses this: and adds,

"We have a double duty to perform without any delay. The first is for us and the Americans to tell France and the world that we cannot and will not stand in the way of de Gaulle: that until the people can speak freely he will lead."

"But, because of the decisive responsibility we bear for the status of Gaullism and all its forms, long before it became truly and independently French—as it is now—we must do a

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If "the Tiger" lived today . .

DEFENDING Mr. Churchill's visit to the Normandy battlefield, Mr. Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, recalled in Parliament on Jun. 15 an episode when timorous advisers urged Clemenceau and his Government to leave Paris when it was shelled in the last war.

According to Mr. Bracken, Clemenceau exclaimed: "Yes, let us leave Paris, let us go to the front."

Mr. Bracken added—"with a deep growl," according to the Daily Express report—"If men like Clemenceau lived today France would not be in her present predicament."

Mr. Bracken does not realise how right he was, for "Tiger" Clemenceau became much less belligerent at the end of his days. Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, in "My Fill of Days," recalls a speech made by a "very old, very white" Clemenceau soon after the last war:

"... he spoke of Britain's part in the war, and of how, after intolerable years, he had seen his hopes for his own country fulfilled. Then raising his voice he said, as I remember the sense rather than the words, 'My part is played, my days are over, and I am going to Brittany. Am I happy? I do not know, I am so old and tired. But of this I am certain, and I ask you young men, the makers of the future, to remember it. I doubt if any object is worth the horrors of war. It may be that your only object should be, to use an English phrase that may displease you, 'Peace at any price.' When he sat down there were a few seconds of dumb emotion before we remembered to cheer him."

M. Clemenceau had learnt a lesson from his own experience as a war leader. Will Mr. Churchill—or Mr. Bracken?

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HOW NOT TO PRAY

by Laurence Housman

"THAT," said an American Bishop some seventy years ago, when America had no war on hand to make good praying difficult, "that is the finest prayer I ever put up before a Boston audience." A remark which made it quite evident that he regarded his earthly audience as the more important of the two.

And now an American President has put up a very similar prayer—similar in that it is so very obviously addressed to the great heart of the American public, and only secondarily to God. For it is a prayer curiously full of unnecessary information, if addressed to One who is supposed to know everything, but conveyed in terms which cannot fail to be popular with the much more numerous audience for which it is more evidently designed.

He begins by informing the Deity of the high character of the Nation he officially represents, and its mission:

"Our sons, pride of our Nation, have set out this day upon a mighty endeavour, a struggle to preserve our Republic, our religion, and our civilization, and to set free a suffering humanity."

He goes on to assure the Deity how well they will fight for the victory which they so thoroughly deserve:

"Their road will be long and hard. The enemy is strong. He may hurl back our forces. Success may not come with rushing speed; but we shall return again and again; and we know that by Thy grace, and by the righteousness of our cause, our sons will triumph."

Then follows some elementary information as to what modern warfare is like:

"They will be sore tried by night and day, without rest till victory is won. Darkness will be rent by noise and flame. Men's souls will be shaken with the violence of war."

After that comes a further certificate of character:

"These are men lately drawn from the ways of peace. They fight not for lust of conquest. They fight to end conquest; they fight to liberate; they fight to let justice arise, and tolerance and goodwill among all Thy peoples. They yearn but for the end of battle, for their return to the haven of home."

And having thus thoroughly informed the Deity, for His better understanding, of the worthiness of

the recipients of His favour, he has something to say about himself as the voice of the people:

"Many people have urged that I call the Nation into a single day of special prayer. But because the road is long, and our desire great, I ask that our people devote them in continuance of prayer."

And how that continuance of prayer should be directed he gives sound, sensible advice:

"Give us strength in our daily tasks to redouble the contributions we make in physical and material support to our armed forces. ... Give us faith in Thee—faith in our sons—faith in each other—faith in our united crusade. Let not the impact of temporary events, temporary matters of but fleeting moment—let not these deter us in our unconquerable purpose. With Thy blessing we shall prevail over the unholy forces of our enemy. Help us to conquer the apostles of greed and racial arrogance."

All quite good, no doubt. But from end to end of that prayer there is not one suggestion that there has been any falling short in the past from an honest standard of Christian life to account for the curse of war having fallen upon America and the Allied Nations. Even Bolshevik Russia is, by inference, washed clean of a guilty past, about which America had, until quite recently, a good many things to say.

In reading that prayer one might think that war was no proof whatever of any past deficiency for which the nations have now cause to repent. On the contrary, war has become the very crown of Christian virtue. And there is one Nation's Publicity Agent knocking at the Gate of Heaven, to tell those within how very good we are, and how very much we deserve the victory which we are quite sure Heaven is going to bestow on us. It is indeed the finest prayer that President Roosevelt could possibly put up—before an American audience.

"Two men went up into the Temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, the other a Publican." And their prayers were of two very different kinds: one was humble, the other was not. Which of those two kinds does the prayer of President Roosevelt most resemble?

Soldiers may turn to pacifism or to crime

— TWO VIEWS FROM AMERICA

THE millions of men now in soldier's uniform will not remain unchanged by their war-time experiences. How will they react when the war is over? Two American replies to this question, from very different angles, appeared in the May issue of The Conscientious Objector (New York).

Private Elliott, McEldowney, wrote from Los Angeles:

"It will probably be something of a surprise to the readers of this paper to know that pacifism exists in the army itself. It is an untutored pacifism, misguided, without leadership, but it does exist."

"The proof of this fact lies in the number of soldiers of this Army of the United States who have requested transfer into the Medical Department on the grounds of conscientious objection after their entry into the service. That number is probably small,

but the real case for pacifism is with those men, drafted into the service, who feel nothing but contempt for the ways of the military and what it stands for.

"The men returning from overseas say that they had no desire to kill, but it was merely a choice of kill or be killed, and that is the principle by which the government gets its soldiers to fight a war."

"It is doubtful that the returning American soldier can be coerced into an organization such as the pro-fascist American Legion. It is more likely that he will refuse to have anything to do with soldiering once he is released from duty."

"These men have seen war, or at least the ways of war, and most of them are convinced that the means of force is the worst way to settle international disputes. They realise that

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Drink and conscience money

THE following letter may speak for itself:

"We live in a small lodge at the foot of Box Hill. When it's hot we put out a notice 'Drinks of Water'. This Whitsun 248 people and 3 dogs called."

"Our two small children watch the unending procession. They collect sympathetic pats and pence."

"Unfortunately we lack that easy manner of buttonholing a crowd and with a few well-chosen words turning them into fire-eating pacifists."

"To ease our squeamish consciences we send you the amount of the voluntary donations to date. Please add this to the Dick Sheppard Press Fund."

"The children were a little ill at ease about the expropriation but a short talk on 'He who binds to himself a Joy' fooled them. My, my, what education does!"

Contributions since Jun. 9: £21 2s. 8d. Total to date: £5374 16s. 1d. (Owing to a typographical error the figure given for the total a fortnight ago was £30 too high.)

THE EDITOR

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DOGMA VERSUS REALITY

IN our correspondence columns we print the most forceful of the letters we have received taking objection to our comment on the announcement of the invasion of France. We said:

"The best we can hope is that it will be brief. In order to be brief it must be victorious. We have no belief in, nor desire for victory in itself: but a quick victory is now the best hope of a quick end to this massive suffering."

"Unless we are hypocrites," says Mr. Gibson, "we cannot hope for a victory while refusing to work for it."

Let us consider an analogy. Suppose we have a friend who has been ill for some years: now his illness has become mortal. There is no chance of recovery. And he is in very great physical pain. The best we can hope for him is a quick end to his suffering, by death. Are we then to be charged with hypocrisy because we refrain from killing him ourselves?

Mr. Gibson pronounces that "Pacifists do not desire military victory at this or any other time." In the same spirit and on the same principle he must pronounce that "Friends do not desire their friend's death at this or any other time." To which the only reply is that human life is not lived on this exalted and inhuman plane.

Mr. Gibson goes further:

"If we see the best hope in a speedy victory, we are merely giving belated support to the point of view of many sincere people who have believed from the beginning that concentration on victory was the best way of shortening the duration of the human suffering involved in war. We should have been with them all the time."

This seems to us a *reductio ad absurdum* of thought conducted in entire abstraction from events. We pacifists have contended all along for peace by negotiation. But now a point has been reached when the very fact of the invasion of France makes it finally clear that peace by negotiation has been definitely rejected by the authorities. The hope of pacifists, to which they clung, though with steadily dwindling confidence, has disappeared from the horizon of reality.

We acknowledge that situation, because we must. But because we acknowledge that our hope has been denied, Mr. Gibson demands that we should forswear our conviction that it would have been the best. And we are to execute this moral somersault in obedience to some stern logic of abstract pacifism which, we believe, has no validity at all, because it has established itself in complete divorce from the reality of human experience.

To return to our analogy, it is as though from our reluctant admission that death was now the best for our friend in pain, it were to be argued that we ought to have set ourselves to poison him a few years ago.

There is, we suppose, nothing to prevent some pacifists from regarding the process of real events in time of war as an unclean thing with which their minds may have no commerce. But there are others who believe it is their duty to scrutinise the whole process of war as steadily as they can, and to form about the probability of events the clearest judgment of which they are capable. We belong to them. Rightly or wrongly, we have come to the conclusion that, as things are now, at the end of five years of war, among all the practical possibilities, a quick victory is the best. That judgment may be wrong. But if it is to be controverted, it must be controverted on its own plane, and not by some arbitrary dogma that a pacifist is forbidden to think that, of a number of practical possibilities in a definite historical situation, military victory could ever offer the best hope for suffering humanity.

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WHEN Mr. Churchill declared, with evident satisfaction, that the war was becoming less ideological, and when, characteristically, he added that our one foreign policy was to beat the enemy, was either statement really inconsistent with the motive of British export trade expansion after the war?

"Observer" (in PN, June 9) seems to think that it was. But such an assumption would only be valid in a world where trade depended more upon good will and less upon power. If trade is conceived as depending primarily on power (as fairly obviously in the modern world it is) then Mr. Churchill's policy—or apparent lack of policy—is, surely, quite sufficient.

That "trade follows the flag" was, after all, the conception upon which the British Empire and British power were built up. Marshal Foch had also no illusions on this matter. "What do we all seek?" he asked, and answered:

New outlets for an ever-increasing commerce and for industries which, producing far more than they can consume or sell, are constantly hampered by increasing competition. And then? Why, the new areas for trade are cleared by cannon-shot."

Add mass-bombing to "cannon-shot" and you have the sequel. "This war," admitted Mr. Milo Perkins, head of the US Board of Economic Warfare, "is part of the long, long fight to make modern mass-production economy work."

Trade Rivalry

In a "civilization" which, as Mr. Perkins also admitted, was "commodity-rich and consumption-poor" the purpose of that "long long fight" seems obviously to have been to knock out and keep out one or more of the rival industrial nations so as to make economic elbow-room and breathing-space for the victors, at least until congestion and deadlock had time to overtake them again.

If in the process great destruction of capital assets and acute scarcity of consumers' goods was for the time being incurred, so much the better. Mass-production economy, on the part of the victors, could then be sure of being kept busy for quite a while afterwards with "reconstruction" and rehabilitation, on its own terms, of the areas impoverished and devastated.

Order? What need to bother unduly about order? Starvation, homelessness, defeat, the ever-present threat of chaos, the desperation of elementary mass-needs seeking succour at any price: these evils might

WILL TRADE FOLLOW THE BOMBER?

By a correspondent

be sufficient for the day to impose a grim "order" of their own.

If, before the war, Europe was the most important market for British exports, which country was the keenest rival competing for that market?

Not Russia, whose vast undeveloped resources were almost fully occupied in meeting her own vast needs.

Germany's Crime

Germany, then?—Germany, fanned by reparations, weighed down with debt, with "no charity to live on," no free food imports by way of interest on foreign investments, no privileged access to raw materials, Germany who believed she had to export or perish—it does seem rather obvious where the rivalry was. Given, further, the inventiveness, efficiency and super-organization of German industry under the National-Socialist régime, the introduction of a monetary system based solely on production internally and of the "blocked marks" and barter agreements in external trade, and there seems still less doubt about it. Europe was to have been consolidated around this new economic order, centred in Berlin.

Would not this be enough to make a combination to beat Germany a sufficient policy? Does it not explain sufficiently all the apparent confusions, caprices and contradictions—Franco included? You are not concerned with a man for his private morals or politics, said Mr. Churchill, but only if he tries to knock you down.

New Set-up

Who but Germany seemed likely to attempt a commercial-economic knock-out in Europe? Even if the Nazis had been the stained-glass window saints which they certainly were not, they would have invited vilification by trying on that game. They could not be allowed to get away with it.

On the other hand, Dr. Benes, for one, has promised that within six months of the defeat of Germany Czecho-Slovakia will be ready to do business. In due course we may expect to see a procession of trade and financial representatives from the liberated countries to consultations with London and Washington.

Meanwhile in Asia industrialized and over-populated Japan, with her

plot for Asiatic co-prosperity, had become a parallel complication and menace. Here was another "hampering competitor" that, sooner or later, had to be reckoned with in the long fight to make modern mass-production economy work.

In most of the discussions on post-war trade and industry there is a conspicuous silence about Germany and Japan, a sort of tacit assumption that as exporters and traders they will have ceased to exist. To imagine them fitting into the problematical future as exporters again seems too much of an effort, so it is left in abeyance. Yet sooner or later it will have to be faced.

When the United Nations Monetary Conference has duly been held in New Hampshire, USA, and the United Nations' plan to compel "peace" by disarmament and industrial control of the defeated by the armed power of the victorious has eventually been formulated and put into force, what then? It looks as if for a time the new World Export Firm will be America-Britain, Ltd., with New York as the world commercial-financial centre and London as branch-office for Europe; as long as the partnership works smoothly, will it be something like that? Russia and China, presumably, will complete the partnership as importers-in-chief. How it will all work out remains to be seen.

True, there is much talk of good neighbourliness and co-operation—between the victorious and their collaborators. True, the so-called Atlantic Charter promised: "They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment of all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." But on Feb. 22, 1944, Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that the Atlantic Charter will not apply to Germany, and in his recent foreign policy speech repeated that no guarantees could be given on that score.

Solving Conflict

What conclusion can be drawn from a pacifist point of view? At least, perhaps, the one reached by Mr. B. D. Knowles in his book "Britain's Problem": that "the export trade, as regarded and practised today, constitutes nothing more or less than a menace to civilization itself."

As for the real remedy: perhaps, if we could perceive it, it lies in the synthesis of two main trends—the trend towards increasing regional self-sufficiency and the trend towards increasing world-co-operation. On the foundation of more balanced economies of internal expansion and rising standards of living within countries we might then proceed to a sane and generous sharing of balanced exchanges between countries. Instead of the long, long ferocious fight for economic spheres of influence, such trade exchanges would then serve the sole purpose of expanding production and consumption in a co-operative world-commonwealth, eventually all-inclusive, with none excluded. This, and not short-sighted discriminative treatment, serving only to aggravate again the very grievances that gave rise to aggression, would promise the surest foundation for future peace. In a world where raw materials are widely and unevenly scattered whilst high-speed transport makes us all next-door neighbours, any other attempted solution would fall short of the best.

Would such a solution be practicable? To devise workable means and methods of making it practicable is not beyond the wit of man, if the right motives were operative. But the pre-condition is a degree of human sanity of which there is as yet little sign.

LETTERS

Pacifists and the Second Front

THE note in Peace News (Jun. 9) on the opening of the Second Front must have shocked many of its readers.

After a prayer that the invasion may be brief, we are told that in order to be brief it must be victorious. Do we, then, pray for victory? Or, more logically—and more honestly—work and fight for victory?

If this is not the meaning of the note, it is difficult to see why it was written. Unless we are hypocrites, we cannot hope for a victory while refusing to work for it. It is not a convincing answer to say that victory is not desired for itself but is desired as the quickest way of ending the suffering. Nobody wants "victory in itself." The phrase is totally devoid of meaning. Victory is desired for reasons as many and varied as the interests involved in the conflict. But once desired, whatever the reason, everything is subordinated to it. That just peace terms would hasten the end is probably true. But so would some new diabolical instrument of destruction. That something or other might shorten the war is not a sufficient reason for accepting it. We want just peace terms because they are just. We reject diabolical methods because they are diabolical. Yet, where speedy victory is the objective, such moral scruples are treachery.

It is for this reason that pacifists do not desire military victory now or at any time. To say this publicly at this time is admittedly difficult because it must sound cruel to those whose thoughts are with the men thrown into the grisly business. But it must be said. If we are not prepared to say clearly and firmly that we refuse to put anybody or anything to the service of military victory—even for the purpose of shortening the conflict—we have no choice but to admit that the case for pacifism never was valid.

There is another aspect of the moral and intellectual confusion into which the pacifist movement has been thrown by the opening of the invasion. War at its bloodiest has been raging on the Russian front. A reasonable estimate of the Russian and German dead

would be twenty millions. Yet the full horror of this seems only now to be coming home because of the expected heavy British casualties. The process by which we shirk unpleasant realities until they are placed under our noses is understandable enough. But if, now that the horror experienced by others is approaching ourselves, we can only see our best hope in a speedy victory, we are merely giving belated support to the point of view of many sincere people who have believed from the beginning that concentration on victory was the best way of shortening the duration of the human suffering involved in war. We should have been with them all the time.

We have not been with them. We are not with them now. The mounting horror of the war should strengthen our resolve to expose its nature. To do so will make us very unpopular, but unpopularity is not the worst thing that pacifists can experience in war time. Indeed, if we were a little more unpopular, we might become better pacifists. We are altogether too accommodating to a nation and a people at war.

JACK GIBSON

(See leading article, column 1)

World federation

In exaggerating the difficulties of abolishing national sovereignties, your leader (May 26) advances four arguments all of which are defective. The answers to them are briefly: (1) Although desirable, it is not essential that the reform should be voluntary; (2) It did not take "a protracted and bloody civil war" to achieve federation in USA; federation was achieved there long prior to the civil war; (3) An Anglo-American or Anglo-French war is by no means "unthinkable"; two years after 1919 there was a press campaign here against "USA" owing to Washington naval policy, and three years later the Entente Cordiale was almost shattered by intense antagonism over the Ruhr; (4) The leader-writer prefers a new political morality to a new political form and interprets this morality as "a common realization that no people must be driven to desperation," but it is precisely the political form of national sovereignty (with its corollary, patriotic education) that prevents such common realization. This vital change depends largely upon "leaders," both political and literary.

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, WC1.

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NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN AND THE SECOND FRONT

TO be a pacifist is not to be endowed by nature with a special measure of tact and understanding—although these qualities may and should increase with the deepening sense of our mission. It may therefore be necessary to stress in times like the present that we should measure carefully all we say in both conversation and public speaking, and to discount anything provocative that may be said to us when feelings are running high.

I am writing this in the first phase of the Second Front. By the time you read it the tension may have eased, but it is difficult to keep from thinking of all that is happening at this moment. We who are in the Negotiated Peace Campaign are desperately anxious that nothing shall be said or done to increase that tension, or even to give an appearance of lack of sympathy with those who, campaigning on both sides in quite a different sense to ours, will in these next weeks be wounded, killed and bereaved.

If we keep before us the fact that we and those who are fighting, killing, and being killed, have one thing in common, the abolition of evil and the establishment of peace, then we shall be the more able to direct their minds to consider what we believe are the better means to achieve those ends.

During the past few weeks a start has been made at several places to hold open air meetings. There are now at least seven towns where regular open-air meetings are being held, and a number of other centres that are contemplating this work. Our panel of speakers has also been augmented and we should be pleased to supply speakers where meetings can be arranged.

The June issue of our "Notes" is now available. We hope to publish them monthly, and to send them to all who ask to be put on the mailing list. If you can donate anything toward the cost of this service please send it along.

A committee is now in being covering the London Area. Particulars of the activities within the London Area may be had from Jack Gibson at the London Area Office. He would also be pleased to contact all those interested in the campaign.

At the last meeting of the National Committee it was decided to work towards a Negotiated Peace Week to be held from Aug. 27 to Sep. 3. It is hoped that activity of every kind will be undertaken during that week and that really effective meetings throughout the whole country will be held on Sun., Sep. 3, the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of war.

If such a week is to be a success it will require all the thought and work that we can put into it, not only during that week but between now and then. Not speakers only, but all must know the case we have to put to the people. I must be used increasingly as a centre for receiving and distributing ideas. Our object is that the whole country may know by all the means that we can command why we believe that peace by negotiation is reasonable and possible.

H.H.

SECOND PROSECUTION

Glyn T. Jones was sentenced at Birmingham police court on Jun. 15 to 31 days' imprisonment for refusing to fire-watch. He has previously served a sentence of 31 days for refusing to register under the Fire-Guard (Local Authority Services) Order, 1943.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

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When Britain obstructed the abolition of the bomber

A copy of a letter written by Mr. Hugh Dalton (now President of the Board of Trade) in June, 1939, in which he put "very simply what the truth is" about Britain's attitude to pre-war proposals for the abolition of the bomber, has just been sent to Peace News by the recipient, a Suffolk reader.

Here is Mr. Dalton's account of what happened, as given in the letter:

"THE late Arthur Henderson and I, when we were at the Foreign Office during the Labour Government of 1929 to 1931, wished this country to propose the abolition of all bombing aeroplanes by international agreement. Mr. Henderson explained this to Count Grandi, Mussolini's Ambassador in London, who, no doubt, reported this information back to his chief in Rome.

"When the Disarmament Conference met in February, 1932, Mr. Henderson was President, but he was no longer Foreign Secretary, as the Labour Government had fallen and the National Government had taken their place in the previous September. Sir John Simon was Foreign Secretary and Lord Londonderry was Secretary of State for Air.

"In the first session of the Disarmament Conference, after an appeal by Mr. Henderson from the chair for bold measures of disarmament, Count Grandi, on behalf of Italy, made a number of excellent proposals including the proposal for the complete abolition of all bombing aeroplanes. This proposal was supported by a large number of other States, and, if it had also been supported by the British Government, would have had a very good chance of general acceptance.

INDIAN PRISONERS

There were still 3,508 persons detained by the Government of India on May 1, according to a Parliamentary reply to Mr. Reginald Sorensen by Mr. Amery on Jun. 15.

AN incident revealing "the feeling of a typical French family toward what we have been led to believe were their hated enemies—the Nazis," was reported in a dispatch from John Wilhelm, Reuter's Special Correspondent with American Advance Forces, which appeared in British newspapers last week.

John Wilhelm questioned the owner of a French home in Grandcamp where a German officer, head of a German labour battalion, had been quartered for over two years. "He lived in one of their three bedrooms,"

said the dispatch, "ate all his meals with the family and sat with them in the evening."

"On the morning of the invasion paratroopers surprised this officer as he left the French chateau to drive to where construction was under way.

"When we arrived the body of the Todt officer, clad in a once near grey-green uniform, was sprawled on the roadside. It continued to lie there for three more days—as did the bodies of the American boys on the beach.

"Upon my arrival the head of the French family drew me aside . . . to say they wanted the German officer buried. 'He is a Catholic,' they said. 'He must be given a proper burial. He must not lie out in the rain. He is a good chap!'"

The incident, says John Wilhelm, "shows that personal acquaintance is stronger than differences in ideologies."

DOUGLAS YOUNG JAILED AGAIN

Douglas Young, chairman of the Scottish National Party, who recently served a 12-month sentence for refusing to be medically examined for military service, was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment at Paisley sheriff court on Jun. 12 for refusing to obey a direction to be interviewed by a National Service Officer for the purpose of determining whether he should be directed to work.

Douglas Young intimated that he would appeal to the High Court.

Words of Peace—78

Coming to our senses?

If we have any practical answer to the question, "What is the end and object of our lives?" it is this, "To make a Heaven of the world of which we have been making a Hell." While we believe that Heaven lies elsewhere only, we shall have every excuse for not making it here. When we believe that it must be established on the earth wherever else it may also be, we shall give up inventing machines for killing men in war and wasting their lives in peace. We shall give up building cities and instead lead an exodus out of them. We shall abandon the West End mansion as well as the squalid court to build red-roofed cottages in country lanes and to turn white and hollow cheeks into rounded and rosy ones. We shall realise that true labour is happy co-operation in hand-work instead of merciless competition in factories, and finally understand why the chief end of man is to worship God, and, in the multitude of the innocent things of His creation, to enjoy Him for ever.

—Excerpt from an article by the late Mr. Godfrey Blount in the Jan.-Mar., 1921, issue of The Country Heart.

ARCHBISHOP WARNS AGAINST HATE

A warning against the feelings of hatred which are now flaming up between the peoples was uttered by the Archbishop of Sweden, Dr. Erling Eidem, at an ecclesiastical meeting held in Stockholm last month. He urged all Christians to join in the fight against this menace to the future.

"It is truly no wonder," he said, "that terrible harvests of hatred and vengeance are growing up on our poor earth out of the seeds of brute force. As Christians it is our duty to take up the struggle against hatred in all its forms in this world which now seems to have become a battleground for evil powers let loose among us. First of all we have to take up this fight in our own hearts, but also in our environment."

The meeting had been opened in the presence of the King of Sweden, and delegates were present from all over the country and from other northern countries.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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QUIET SINGLE man, 30, requires furnished bed-sitting room Central London. Please state rent. Box 475.

URGENTLY WANTED: small unfurnished house, bungalow or cottage. Garage/gdn. if possible. 20 miles radius London. Box 476.

WANTED: SMALL house or self-contained flat, London or outskirts. Write J. J. Spicer, 91 Lordship Rd., N.16.

VACANT SHORTLY, furnished, Earle Court, one-room flat, large, 36s. One divan room, use of k. and b., 30s. Intending tenant could choose decorations. FLA. 7016. E. C. Gilbert, 30 Coherne Rd., S.W.10.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

YOUNG VIOLINIST gives lessons to beginners and progressives. Write Box 479.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

TYPEWRITERS: bought, sold, repaired; special terms to pacifists. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardman and Sons, 14 Prospect Place, Preston.

ALLYSOL—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert. in this issue.

CRICKET EQUIPMENT urgently required by C.O. group land-workers. J. Thomas, Henry Carter House, Beare Green, Dorking, Surrey.

RE-USE ENVELOPES—with Peace News economy labels. 1s. for 100, 8s. for 1,000. Order from your local distributor or direct from PN Office.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

UP TO 5 ACRES of land wanted. Southern Counties preferred. Woodland considered. 18 Nightingale Rd., Hanwell, W.7.

3 C.O.s (2 MARRIED) with good general farming experience desire to rent small farm or market garden with residence. Box 477.

ONE OR two partners wanted to start market garden; 12 acres, Warwickshire, good caravan site; no capital required; must have experience vegetable growing. Box 481.

LITERATURE, etc.

ARE YOU interested in international war resistance? Groups are invited to write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex, for specimen literature describing the International's activities. The W.R.I. can also supply speakers to address P.P.U. and other pacifist groups on its work.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

CHRIST, THE Communist, is the new pamphlet issued by the Kingdom Movement. Post free together with previous literature 6d. from Secretary, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

A MESSAGE to Christian pacifists of all denominations. See the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier's latest book "The Hope of Glory"—a study of the indwelling Christ. Published by the Faith Press, 7 Tufton St., London, S.W.1, 1s. 8d. post free.

BOOK BARGAINS! Large stock to clear, anything for everyone. Send 1d. for lists. "P.N.", Dockenden, Benenden, Kent.

MEETINGS, etc.

JOHN PARKER, M.P., will speak on "Civil aviation after the war" at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Tues., Jun. 27, at 1.20 p.m.

HEDDYCHWYR CYMRU conference at Bangor, Aug. 21-26. Speakers include Dr. Alex Wood, G. M. Ll. Davies. Inclusive cost £2 12s. 6d., plus registration fee. Registration, with 5s. fee to D. R. Thomas, 5 Bronistyn Tce., Aberdare, by Jul. 15.

FAMINE IN Bengal. Richard Symonds (just returned from F.A.U. Relief work in India) will speak at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, at 1.20 p.m. on Thurs., Jun. 29.

HIGH WYCOMBE P.P.U. group invite you to a ramble on Sat., Jul. 1, culminating at Green End, Radnage, when John and Irene Barclay will speak. Ramblers meet West Wycombe Pedestal 3 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST, Sun., Jul. 2, "The Indian Scene"; D. V. Tahmankar, B.A. (of United Press of India). 8.30.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN VICTORY Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

BUSINESS WOMAN, 30, would like to hear from Londoners with cosmopolitan and intellectual outlook for occasional discussions, etc. Box 472.

PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE in 30's, interests philosophy, arts, to form circle, walking, boating, week-ends, Surrey, also make party Youth Hostels July/August. Write fully Box 478.

WOULD ANY farmer (preferably Berks., Surrey, Hants.) consider providing work and home for semi-problem boy (14 in August)? Box 482.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

BURGESS HILL school requires gardener-handyman (fruit, vegetables, chicken, bees; carpentry useful); former applicants invited to communicate. Secretary, Redhurst, Cranleigh, Surrey.

LLANTHONY BROTHERS, inter-denominational religious community, require two men, one for land work, other to help in house, plain cooking and assist occasionally in youth hostel. Interest in church music advantage not essential. No cranks, no crooks wanted. Simple rule. Fr. David, Llonthony Brothers, Capel y Ffin, Abergavenny, Mon.

VACANCY FOR land-workers and housekeeper in small market-gardening community. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

C.O. EMPLOYER requires tractor ploughman, also unskilled or semi-skilled man to go threshing. Good wages, long week-ends occasionally, regular rises. A. Thomas, Crick 221, Rugby.

WANTED—TWO or three gardeners (one as handyman) for nature-cure home and guest house. Food strictly vegetarian. Apply Miss Harris, Hinton House, Hinton Charterhouse, nr. Bath.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

MARRIED C.O. (27) seeks farm job with good cottage in counties adjacent Bristol, 4½ yrs. experience. T.T. milk production and general farm work. Free Michaelmas. Reference. Box 480.

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell Typewriting Office, 8 Lamma Park Gardens, Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Leamington. Lectures every Tuesday p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8985.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 184 Hoppers Rd., Winchester Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

D. H. LAWRENCE. A society is being formed to study the meaning of this great spiritual adventurer. FLA. 7016. E. C. Gilbert, 30 Coherne Rd., S.W.10.

Do you read Peace News Pamphlets? They are published at approximately monthly intervals, deal with subjects of topical interest, and cost only 1d. each. Ask your PN distributor about them, or in case of difficulty write to 3 Blackstock Rd.

U.S. SOLDIERS TURN AGAINST WAR

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

all this happened once before, and should the peace be fumbled, as it is likely it will, you will have the greatest potential number of anti-militarists the world has ever known.

"The majority of these men have no realization as to what this business is all about. As individuals, they have been ordered into something that is a little bigger than they, and they are at a loss as to how to counter-act the growing tide. It is probably well for the government that the majority of American soldiers are very immature politically and have no background by which to judge the present situation.

"The peace groups of the nation and the world should definitely organize themselves to meet the mental needs of the homecoming soldier. They have the greatest opportunity in the world after the culmination of this conflict to promote the betterment of man, the federation of world brotherhood. The time to get ready to meet this emergency is now."

* * *

The second view appeared in this news item:

"The picture is not a pretty one," said E. E. Conroy, chief of the New York office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a speech referring to crime potential of 10,000,000 returning soldiers after the war. He emphasized the particular threat of commandos, taught to kill skilfully and noiselessly. "They are going to be post-graduates in crime," he said."

EIGHTH PROSECUTION

Kenneth H. Sibley was prosecuted for refusing fire-guard duties for the eighth time at St. Albans Police Court on Jun. 15. He was found guilty and fined £5.

EX-AIRMAN SENTENCED

Forty-eight-year-old John G. Jenkins, the former airman who, as reported last week, had been given a week by the Tower Bridge magistrate to see if he could undertake voluntary fire-guard duties at business premises, was sent to prison for 3 months on Jun. 15, for refusing fire-guard duty.

Red Cross men will stay if Greece is invaded

SWEDEN WANTS MORE RELIEF FACILITIES

ALL members of the Swedish Delegation in Greece have declared their willingness to continue their life-saving work of food relief, even in case of invasion. So said Prince Carl, head of the Swedish Red Cross, when giving details recently of the food-relief work done by that body in many parts of German-occupied Europe.

The Swedish Delegation in Greece, he said, was "working under extremely difficult conditions," but "measures taken to increase import of foodstuffs had been successful."

The work is hazardous enough without an invasion. The Swedish relief ship Fenja was sunk between Calino and the Turkish mainland, "probably as the result of striking a mine," according to the Swedish Foreign Office on Jun. 15; a member of the Commission who disregarded warnings and entered an area where sporadic fighting was in progress was shot by a Greek guerrilla and seriously wounded.

A message received by the Food-Relief Campaign through the Swedish Legation this month reports that "a Swedish relief organization for Norway which in December, 1943, sent 90,000 parcels to Norway, is to send another huge batch in the course of the month. A licence for 110,000 parcels of about 1.7 kilos each has been obtained, amounting to a total of 192 tons.

Apart from these special consignments, 144,000 persons get regular meals from Swedish relief in Norway, including 123,000 children and 15,000 aged persons.

Some of Dr. Kershner's work in Southern France is also being carried on by the Swedes. Meals distributed to about 300 children at Marseilles and 600 children at Nice consist of specially nourishing food which is unobtainable in France.

Great care is taken that the rations contain sufficient protein and fat.

APPEAL TO ALLIES

Yet the efforts of neutral Sweden are severely limited by the deliberate policy of British economic warfare. In a speech (hitherto unreported in

the British Press) to the Swedish Riksdag in March, the Minister for National Economy, Mr. Alex Gjöres, explained that Sweden was only allowed safe conducts for imports after agreeing to "a stipulation that imports into Sweden through the blockade with the consent of the belligerents must not benefit the other side."

"The Swedish Government," Mr. Gjöres went on, "has tried to make arrangements by which legitimate claims for relief might be reconciled with existing undertakings. In order to make an extension of the Swedish relief activities in the North possible, the Swedish authorities have discussed these questions with the Western Powers.

"In brief the Swedish attitude is that a national solution of supply problems of each country must be found in direct imports from the West. It is known that this question has been discussed between the Norwegian Government and the Allies, so far without results.

"The Swedish Government has made it clear that Sweden is prepared to facilitate a solution on the lines mentioned and to assist her neighbours out of her own stocks to the extent allowed by her own supply position, which, however, in many ways depends on imports from the West. So far the negotiations have made it possible to send small quantities of Swedish foodstuffs to Norway, and it is fervently hoped that continued negotiations will result in new facilities."

The member who raised the question, Mr. Wiborg, said that the Minister had the whole of the Swedish people behind him when he expressed a hope that the negotiations would result in new facilities. A refusal on the part of the Western Powers to meet Swedish wishes in this respect would ill accord with humanitarian ideals.

C.O.s DROPPED WITH PARATROOPS

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors were among the medical orderlies who jumped with the paratroops in the invasion of Normandy, according to a report in the Manchester Guardian (Jun. 14) from David Woodward, its War Correspondent.

The glider in which Woodward travelled hit a telegraph pole and broke its back. There were several casualties and he himself, slightly hurt, went in search of a dressing station. The orderly, he wrote, "went to work with sticking-plaster, ointment and bandages, saying suddenly, 'Of course, I don't approve of all this'. This struck me as an extraordinarily prim remark to make under the circumstances, and I asked for an explanation. He told me that he was a conscientious objector who has volunteered for work as a parachutist medical orderly. He added that about 50 per cent. of the medical orderlies who had jumped with him were also conscientious objectors."

One of these COs was reported by the News Chronicle, Jun. 16, to be in Leeds Infirmary with wounds received in Normandy, where he landed by parachute on "D-Day". He was Ernest Baxter, of Blackburn. He had been captured by the Germans, but escaped.

INVASION BROUGHT A RECORD SALE

To the Editor

You and your readers will be encouraged to learn that on the first Saturday afternoon of the much-heralded Second Front my normal PN street-sales constituted a record—exceeded only once this year by reason of the crowds gathered in the recent "Salute the Soldier" Week.

There was again no hostility, several appreciative remarks, and a number of customers were ascertained to be buyers for the first time.

I am sure many readers will wish to face up to the implied challenge of these facts and offer their services as street-sellers in their own localities. Will any volunteers who would prefer the moral support of selling in company, and can reach either Palmers Green (The Triangle), or Finchley (Tally Ho) or Barnet Church for any period between 3 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays please either write to me or ring our Regional Peace News Organizer at ENTERprise 4374.

RONALD N. PAGE

Barnet Regional Secy.

73 Woodfield Drive, East Barnet, Herts.

COMMONS QUESTION ON ELPHICK CASE

The case of George Elphick, the Lewes CO who faces the possibility of a ninth prosecution for refusing to fire-watch, was the subject of a question in the Commons on Jun. 15.

Mr. Herbert Morrison told Mr. Rhys Davies that no grant from the Exchequer would be made towards expenditure on proceedings commenced against George Elphick after Oct. 8, 1942, when the Regional Commissioner advised against further proceedings.

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Are we creating a hostile France?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

second duty. We must tell the people of France the whole strange story of the past four years. It is for them to pass the ultimate judgment on the future of Gaullism. To make a decision that will be right for France and for Europe, they must know every fact, fully and soberly told, about Gaullism's history."

Why they got away

That is more a threat than a serious policy. To enthrone de Gaulle, and damn him does not make sense. Much better damn him first. Apparently, it is easy enough to do. The unvarnished truth will suffice. Indeed, The Observer (Jun. 18) already has given the show away. "By him, aided often by anti-democrats, have been picked the men to leave and return to France." What then remains of the contention that the Algiers Committee is representative of France?

There too is a very sufficient explanation of the discrepancy between the actual attitude of the French people and that which they were supposed to have. If all their "representative" refugees from France were hand-picked by de Gaulle, it was inevitable that a false picture should be given.

Future consequences

De Gaulle is, in fact, largely the creation of British propaganda. If British propaganda about France were true, someone like de Gaulle would have to exist; and if it were to be merely plausible, someone like him would have to be invented. De Gaulle is half a reality, half an invention. Now that the test of truth is practically applied, the counterfeit part is most awkwardly revealed. Shall we scrap it or force it into currency?

It is a question of the very first order of political importance. For our post-war relations with France are crucial to the hope of ordered liberty in Europe. If, as is almost

certainly the case, neither de Gaulle or Gaullism is representative of France, by recognizing him we shall be justly accused of having handed over France to him. If, as is quite possible, driving the Germans out of France proves to be a long and horrible business, entailing a wholesale devastation of the civil life of France, the odium of doing so in order to impose an unpopular, vindictive, and dictatorial government upon France, will be overwhelming.

Those mercenaries

ANOTHER matter that requires illumination is the tenacious fighting quality of the soldiers recruited into the German army from the occupied territories—"Russians, Poles, Czechs, Croats in numbers." First, are these men to be handed over to their Governments to be put before a firing squad? They are computed to amount to about 20 per cent. of the German forces in the West—some hundreds of thousands. We cannot believe that the American C-in-C would dream of permitting such an outrage.

Still, it will be said that they fight so dourly because, if captured, they have reason to fear the worst. But why did they join originally? The only answer we can conceive is that they belong to those who really believed in Hitler's new order for Europe. Perhaps they still believe in it. Perhaps they will believe in it still more if the United Nations do not drastically change their policy towards Europe. At any rate, whatever we think of them, they do not fit it with the propaganda picture of Europe; and they suggest that even more uncomfortable surprises may be in store.

Finland's fate

THE propaganda picture looks queer at another point. Why has the first Russian contribution to

the all-out attack on Germany taken the form of an all-out attack on Finland? Not merely does that appear to be a side-show from the military point of view; but it is conspicuously that section of the war where the moral justification is at its very weakest. To the small nations of Europe it must appear that the first consequence of the British and Americans opening the Second Front in the West, is that one of the most progressive and exemplary among them is crushed by the Russian big battalions.

One's reaction is simple, school-boyish, and doubtfully pacifist. One says to Russia: "Hit someone your own size!" If the Red Army is proud of overwhelming Finland, it can hardly be the marvellous instrument of moral regeneration that it is reputed to be.

The long view

THE political chaos and civil suffering—the total degradation—are the consequence of the decision to fight on taken four years ago. Will this decision be justified at the bar of history? I am sure it will not be.

"After nearly five years, the peoples whom the British said they would deliver are either destroyed or reduced to such a state of starvation that their health will be seriously impaired for life.

"The Russians, in their treatment of Polish refugees and deportees, are showing themselves as ruthless as the Germans (see the Church Times of May 26 and June 2).

"In every country at war many are thirsting for revenge.

"The British Government seems to have learned nothing about the causes of war and is preparing to deal with Germany as in 1918, only more thoroughly.

"The seeds of future wars are already sown. And the pacifist can ask, with great confidence, 'Could things the world over really have been worse if Hitler had overrun all Europe and Japan had overrun the Far East?'"

That I take from a Circular Letter by the Secretary of the Norwich section of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.